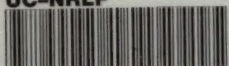


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# THE ARTISTS OF PERGAMUM

BY

HENRIETTA JOSEPHINE MEETEER

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOS  
OPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



MAY, 1904





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## THE ARTISTS OF PERGAMUM.

AMID the struggles that marked the dismemberment of Alexander's empire, when unity was replaced by varying and multiplied divisions, when the fiat of almost unknown Greek soldiers was accepted as the destiny of peoples and nations long crushed under the stifling influence of Eastern despotism, there gradually arose beside the great Greek powers of Syria and Egypt several independent lesser states, of which Pergamum was, perhaps, the most fortunate and successful. The ancient city was situated on a lofty isolated hill in the broad and fertile valley of the Caicus, about twenty miles from its mouth. Its inhabitants claimed descent from Arcadian colonists who crossed to Asia with Telephus, son of Heracles; but this Greek city on barbarian soil does not appear in history until the time of Alexander's generals. Small and insignificant in its origin, it gradually grew, thanks to the military talents and astuteness of its princes, who had the wisdom to always recognize the winning side, into a power and importance that give it a place alike in history and in art.

The craggy summit of the ancient acropolis, which for more than a century was to guard the brilliant capital of a great kingdom, furnished an impregnable fortress, chosen by Lysimachus as the depository of his treasure; but both treasure and fortress passed into the hands of his officer Philetaerus, a native of Teium, a small town in the northern part of Asia Minor; and this comparatively obscure soldier, in the year 280 B. C., became the founder of a dynasty which was one of the most capable and attractive of the age. Public



and private virtues distinguished this house, whose succession, though generally indirect, was marked by no murders and no jealousies,—a record almost unparalleled in the history of the time.

The successor of Philetaerus was his nephew Eumenes (263–241 B. C.), of whom little is known; but to the wise policy and sound statesmanship of the third ruler of this house, Attalus, first king of Pergamum (241–197 B. C.), was virtually due the establishment of the kingdom. An important part of this policy was his friendship and alliance with Rome. But Attalus's great achievement was his complete victory over the Gauls, that great barbaric horde, which, after invading southern Greece and even threatening Delphi, were now swarming over Asia Minor, where they had already effected a settlement—a victory that, vital to Pergamum, relieved the terror of Greece.

The encouragement of art and literature dates from this reign; for Attalus was a generous patron of learning, and Pergamum soon became a center of art, as well as a city of regal magnificence, and one of the leading exponents of Hellenism. It reached the height of its prosperity in the reign of Eumenes II (197–159 B. C.), whose dominion embraced a considerable portion of Asia Minor, but declined under his brother and successor, Attalus II (159–138 B. C.), largely because of the increasing strength of Rome, under whose earlier patronage it had prospered so greatly. The last king, Attalus III, died 133 B. C., bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people, by whom the last scion of this illustrious line, Aristonicus, was put to death in prison.

Though Pergamum did not equal Alexandria in its influence on the civilization of the world, it became, through its great library and famous school of writers, her most formidable rival in the field of literature and



science; while as a center of artistic activity it far surpassed the great first city of the Hellenistic world, and was, for almost a century, until absorbed in the Roman Empire, one of the main channels of culture and civilization. Its princes, who were far more truly Hellenic than other Hellenistic sovereigns, were, moreover, Greek rulers of a Greek people, a happy union which did not exist in the other empires of the day, and which was, no doubt, an important factor in procuring for Pergamum its leading position in art; for art in the period following Alexander the Great had its center, not in Alexandria, but in Rhodes and at the court of the Attalids.

Those Celtic hordes whose incursions into Greece and Asia Minor had filled men's hearts with terror were, after the wars of the Seleucid brothers, in which they had fought as mercenaries on almost all sides, let loose upon their neighbors. The savage cruelty of these barbarians, their aimless rapine and plunder, brought dismay and ruin, while threatening the overthrow of all civilization. Other sovereigns of Asia purchased immunity from their depredations, but Attalus I of Pergamum enforced it at the point of the sword. Thus the victories won by him and his successor Eumenes, had, in the eyes of their contemporaries, a significance equal to those of Marathon and Salamis, and were followed at the capital of Attalus by one of those great outbursts of intellectual artistic activity which succeed any deep stirring of national existence. Memorials of these victories, erected not only at the court of the Attalids but also at the most famous shrines of Greece, testify to the enthusiasm which inspired a splendid revival of sculpture.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. H. E. Meier, *Pergamenisches Reich*; A. G. van Cappelle, *Commentatio de Regibus et Antiquitatibus Pergamenis* (Amsterdam, 1862);



Works of art in Pergamum, however, were naturally not confined to such contemporaneous productions. The testimony of literature and inscriptions proves that Pergamum was a storehouse of such works gathered from all parts of Greece, and it is very probable that this collection included a generous share of the spoils of Corinth.

The list of works which can be gathered from the scanty records of Pergamene art must be divided into two classes:

1. Works of contemporaneous artists made for and in Pergamum;

2. Those procured by its kings, who were liberal patrons of art, either by purchase or from the spoils of conquest.

From late Greek and Roman writers can be gathered a brief list of names of artists who worked in Pergamum and works of art found there. A number of artists' subscriptions excavated at Pergamum, many of which are, unfortunately, very fragmentary, have added to this list. Moreover, some of these names have been identified with those of artists known from other sources, and works of art mentioned by ancient writers have not only been ascribed to some of them, but it is also generally conceded that copies of Pergamene works of art are still in existence.

A number of the names, however, which have been found in inscriptions must be assigned to works of the second class. One such name has been discovered, and possibly three, in three inscriptions (*Alterthuemer von Pergamon*, VIII<sup>1</sup>, 48-50), whose contents and rather ornamental character have led Fraenkel to group them

M. Collignon, *Pergame. Restauration et Description des Monuments de l'Acropole* (Paris, 1900); J. L. Ussing, *Pergamos. Seine Geschichte und seine Monumente* (Berlin, 1899).



together; for there can be no doubt that the marble pedestals on whose fragments these inscriptions have been found supported works of art of an earlier time, which were carried off to Pergamum as trophies.<sup>1</sup>

No. 48, as restored by Fraenkel, reads:

Ὀνάτας] Σμίκωνος Αἰγινήτης [ἐποίησεν.

In Σμίκωνος Schuchhardt recognized the archaic form of Micon, the father of the Aeginetan Onatas, an artist of the fifth century B. C.

There is an epigram by an Antipater in the Greek Anthology (Palat., IX, 238) in praise of a bronze statue of Apollo by Onatas: the scholiast thinks this is the Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (VIII, 42, 7). It has been conjectured<sup>2</sup> that the pedestal which bore the above inscription supported this colossal bronze statue of Apollo; if so, it was brought to Pergamum shortly after King Attalus came into possession of the island of Aegina, not long after the year 210 B. C.<sup>3</sup>

No. 49.

On one side of the block is the inscription:

Θήρων Βοιώτιος  
ἐποίησεν,

and on an adjoining side,

Ἐξ Αἰγίνης.

Marks on the upper surface of the pedestal show that the statue was of bronze.

There have been different theories in regard to the date of this artist,<sup>4</sup> but his identity with the Boeotian

<sup>1</sup> Alterthuemer von Pergamon VIII, Die Inschriften von Pergamon, M. Fraenkel, Fabricius, und Schuchhardt (Berlin, 1890-1895), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Polyb., XXIII, 8, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Lolling, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon (Berlin, 1880), p. 112; E. Loewy, Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer (Leipzig, 1885), p. 126; Fraenkel, *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, p. 42.

artist of the fourth century B. C., mentioned by Pausanias (VI, 14, 11), can scarcely be questioned. The work of art referred to in this inscription was probably brought to Pergamum by Attalus I about the same time as the one by Onatas.

No. 50.

*a.* Σιλανίῳ[ν Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν.

Ἐξ . . .

*b.* Ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ.

*b* bears the marks of having supported a statuette.

There can be no doubt that Silanion is the famous worker in bronze of the fourth century B. C. As the blocks on which *a* and *b* have been found agree exactly in form, material, etc., Fraenkel thinks it is probable that the statuette of *b* also was the work of Silanion. These works of art must have been brought from Oreus to Pergamum in the time of Attalus I, as the captured city was handed over to him by the Romans in 200 B. C.<sup>1</sup>

There is no reason to assume the existence of three earlier artists of the same name, as there is sufficient evidence in literature to prove that there was a collection of earlier works of art at Pergamum.

Another inscription found in Pergamum may be included with these:

. . . εἰργ]άσ(σ)ατο Χίος.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 46.

Fraenkel's conjecture that this artist was Bupalus of Chios, who flourished in the sixth century B. C., has been accepted by others. He suggests also that this may be a copy of the original inscription which belonged to the base of the "Draped Graces" of Bupalus, mentioned by Pausanias (IX, 35, 6), and that this work of art was brought to Pergamum in the time of

<sup>1</sup> Liv., XXXI, 46, 16.



the Attalids, just as the works of the preceding artists were.

The conjecture of a second and later artist of this name, founded on an inscription on the base of a statue of Aphrodite excavated at Rome in 1760, has been disproved.<sup>1</sup>

Six inscriptions found in Pergamum (Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 135-140) on slabs of a great marble base contain the names of two famous Athenian artists. The slabs originally contained four names at least, but only three are preserved—Praxiteles, Myron, and Xenocrates. The flat upper surface of the pedestal bears the marks of having supported bronze figures. The epigraphy of these inscriptions, according to Fraenkel, places them in the time of Eumenes II.<sup>2</sup> Various theories have been advanced to account for the occurrence of these names in inscriptions of this date.<sup>3</sup> The natural explanation seems to be that the works of art which this base supported were also older than the inscriptions and had been procured by the Pergamene kings by purchase or some other means; or, possibly, they were copies of works of earlier artists, who were, very probably, the artist and art critic Xenocrates of the third century B. C. and two contemporary artists. A Myron of this century is known from a reference in Pausanias (VI, 8, 5), and an inscription found at Olympia,<sup>4</sup> and there is some evidence for a Praxiteles also of the same century.<sup>5</sup>

Though the birthplace of the great Myron was Eleutherae and there is good reason to believe that

<sup>1</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., pp. 328-329.

<sup>2</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-73, and Zusatz. u. Berecht., p. xii; L. v. Ulrichs, *Pergamensche Inschriften* (Wuerzburg, 1883), p. 25; Loewy, I. G. B., p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Zeit.*, 1878, p. 84; Loewy, I. G. B., 126.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Theocr., V, 105.

Eleutherae was still part of Boeotia in the time of Myron, the supremacy of Thebes was never of such a nature as to make it probable that a native of another Boeotian town would be called a Theban. It can, moreover, be pretty safely assumed that the works of art to which these inscriptions belonged were not executed for Pergamum, but formed part of the royal collection.

The Praxiteles of another inscription found in Pergamum (Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 141) is, no doubt, the great Athenian artist of that name.

The art collection of the Attalids contained also a masterpiece of Cephisodotus, the son of Praxiteles;<sup>1</sup> and probably a work of his contemporary, the Athenian Demetrius, for a fragmentary inscription found in Pergamum seems to contain his name:

Δ[η]μή[τριος] . . .  
ἐποίησεν.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 142.

This Demetrius might be a contemporary of the two Rhodian artists of this name,<sup>2</sup> or he might possibly be identified with one of them;<sup>3</sup> but it is more probable that he was the artist of the fourth century B. C.

Πολύμνηστος Ἀθην[αῖος] ἐποίησεν

(Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 144)

was discovered at Pergamum on a fragment of a marble pedestal. Marks on the upper surface of the pedestal show that the statue was of bronze.

Two inscriptions which contain the signature of this artist have been found in Athens,<sup>4</sup> and one at Olympia,

<sup>1</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXVI, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 187 and 193.

<sup>3</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 70 and 71.



in which Athens is mentioned as his home.<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions date from the fourth century B. C.

There is not sufficient evidence on which to base any positive conclusion as to whether the Polymnestus of the Pergamene inscription was the Athenian artist of the fourth century, one of whose works the Pergamene kings were fortunate enough to secure, or a later artist of the same name and family at work in Pergamum; but the probabilities are in favor of the former.<sup>2</sup>

There are only a few references in literature to paintings at Pergamum, but there can be no doubt that this branch of art was well represented in the collection of the Pergamene kings,<sup>3</sup> for Pausanias (VII, 16, 8) says, when Corinth was captured and despoiled of all its art treasures, Mummius carried to Rome only what he considered the most valuable: the rest were handed over to Philopoemen, the leader of the auxiliary forces sent by Attalus from Pergamum. This collection included paintings; for Pliny and Strabo say that Philopoemen offered Mummius six hundred thousand denarii for the "Dionysus" of Aristides, when he found the soldiers were using it as a dice-board.<sup>4</sup> Since Velleius Paterculus (I, 13, 4) says that Mummius was so ignorant of art as to give orders to those who had charge of the transportation of the statues and paintings to Rome that if any were lost they were to be replaced by new ones, it is quite certain that some of the most valuable works of art carried off from Corinth must have found their way to Pergamum, where Pausanias says they were still to be seen in his day.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 72.

<sup>2</sup> Fraenkel, *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, p. 74, and *Zusatz. u. Berecht.*, p. xii; Collignon, *Pergame*, p. 202; Ussing, *Pergamos*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Fraenkel, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1891, p. 49 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXV, 24; Strab., VIII, 381. Cf. Plin., VII, 126; XXXV, 100 and 132.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tac., *Ann.* XVI, 23.

Another story told by Pliny, of the refusal of the painter Nicias to sell one of his pictures to Attalus for sixty talents, is, with greater probability, referred by Plutarch (*Non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.*, XI, 2) to Ptolemy Soter (306–284 B. C.), as the dates of Attalus and Nicias are irreconcilable. Still the fact that Pliny found this story connected with the name of Attalus is another proof that paintings, as well as other works of art, were eagerly sought for by the Pergamene kings and procured by purchase as well as other means.

The collection of paintings at Pergamum included an Ajax struck by lightning, the work of Apollodorus of Athens, an artist of the fifth century B. C.; and possibly a second work of this same artist, mentioned by Pliny, a priest in prayer;<sup>1</sup> also the “Draped Graces” of Pythagoras of Paros,<sup>2</sup> who is otherwise unknown. When it was not possible to obtain originals, copies of famous paintings were, no doubt, substituted; for, according to an inscription found at Delphi<sup>3</sup> and published with new restorations by Fraenkel,<sup>4</sup> three artists were sent by a king of Pergamum, probably Attalus II, to copy paintings at Delphi. Fraenkel thinks these paintings were those of Polygnotus in the Lesche.

It has been plausibly conjectured that these works of art collected by the Attalids formed part of a royal museum, whose contents were distributed through the royal palace, the library, and the halls of the great porticoes which flanked the sacred enclosure of the temple of Athena on two sides.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXV, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., IX, 35, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.*, V, p. 388 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1891, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Fraenkel, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1891, p. 54; *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, p. 42; Conze, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1893, p. 217.



## EPIGONUS.

One great figure stands out preëminent among the artists of Pergamum: Epigonus, an artist of the third century B. C., who worked in bronze. Three inscriptions found in Pergamum bear his name, and two others may be assigned to him: a striking testimony to his activity, as compared with the scanty records of other Pergamene artists.

The native place of Epigonus is unknown, and inscriptions furnish the only clue to his date. Since, according to inscription 12, Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, he executed a quadriga for Attalus, the father of Attalus I, he must have been established at Pergamum during the lifetime of Philetaerus, *i. e.*, before 263 B. C.; for there is every reason to believe that Philetaerus outlived his two younger brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, as their sons, Eumenes I and Attalus I, succeeded him.<sup>1</sup> The period of Epigonus's activity seems to have covered about forty years, for there are very good reasons for assigning his name to the great monument erected by Attalus I after the final defeat of the Gauls about 228 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 88), in enumerating the artists who made bronze statues, mentions Epigonus and several of his works: *Epigonus omnia fere praedicta imitatus praecessit in tubicine et matri interfectae infante miserabiliter blandiente*. This is the only reference to Epigonus in Greek or Latin literature; but the five inscriptions discovered at Pergamum have not only revealed the scene of his labors and several important works, but also, in the opinion of some scholars, led to the discovery that copies of others are still in existence. These inscriptions, moreover, furnish the only guide

<sup>1</sup> Meier, Pergam. Reich, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The exact date is uncertain.

to a chronological arrangement of the works which may be ascribed to him.

The earliest of these was executed during the lifetime of Philetaerus, and bore the inscription: Ἐπίγονος ἐποίησεν (Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 12; Loewy, I. G. B., 157<sup>b</sup>), which was found on one of three top slabs of a great base. This base supported a quadriga executed for Attalus, the father of Attalus I, in commemoration of an Olympic victory.

Two other inscriptions read:

Ἐπίγονος ἐποίησεν.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 31, 32; Loewy, I. G. B., 157, 157<sup>a</sup>.

One was found on the top slab of a marble base, and the other on a block of marble which also formed part of the base of a statue. These are assigned by Collignon<sup>1</sup> and Michaelis<sup>2</sup> to two of the portrait statues referred to by Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 88).

There are very strong arguments in favor of assigning to Epigonus a monument erected by the general Epigenes and his fellow officers to commemorate the victory of Attalus I over the Gauls and Antiochus Hierax. The date of this monument is somewhat uncertain; it was probably erected after 228 B. C. Part of an inscription (Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 29) belonging to this was found in Pergamum in 1880 on two pieces of a great marble base. Conze<sup>3</sup> combined with this the five lines of Peyssonnel's fragment (C. I. G., 3535), and read the inscription as follows:

Βασιλέα Ἀτταλον

Ἐπιγέν[η]ς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατ[ι]ῶται  
οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας

<sup>1</sup> Pergame, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1893, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Monatsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1881, p. 872.



καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας χαρισ[τ]ήρια  
 ἔστ[ησαν] Διὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.  
 Ἴσι — or Ἀντι]γόνου ἔργα.

But Fraenkel<sup>1</sup> objects to the insertion of an ἔστησαν in line 5, as he thinks it mars the symmetry of the inscription. On Conze's authority he makes the statement that Peyssonnel did not take this inscription from the stone, but copied it at third, if not fourth, hand. So Fraenkel places the ἔστ of line 5 in Peyssonnel's fragment to correspond with line 6 of inscription 29, where he thinks it has resulted from a misreading of ΕΠΙ rather than ΙΣΙ.

.....

Διὶ, Ἀθηνᾶι.  
 Ἐ(π)ιγόνου ἔργα.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 30.

The great base which bore this inscription very probably supported a group, of which King Attalus was the central figure. From the plurals, χαριστήρια and ἔργα, in lines 4 and 6, it may be inferred that this group was one of two companion pieces, which were the work of the same artist. Fraenkel<sup>2</sup> calls attention to the unusual form and exact agreement of the artists' signatures in this inscription and number 22 of the Alterthuemer (Ἐπιγόνου ἔ[ργα]), and also to the fact that the two bases on which these inscriptions have been found are exactly alike. He suggests that they are companion pieces, one erected by the king and one by the army at the close of the war. For similar companion pieces he refers to those of Eumenes II and his army.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Philol.*, 1895, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII, 60 and 61, 62 and 63; cf. p. 30.

It is generally conceded that the masterpiece of Epigonus was a great votive offering of Attalus I, and also that the base which supported this has been found at Pergamum. The blocks which formed this pedestal contain a series of inscriptions which commemorate the victories of Attalus over the Gauls,<sup>1</sup> and the central block bears the signature of the artist:

Ἐπιγυ]όνου ἔ[ργα.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>b</sup>.

Ἰσιγυ — or Ἀντιγυ]όνου ἔ[ργα]

Loewy, I. G. B., 154<sup>c</sup>.

Marks on the flat upper surface of the pedestal show that the statues which it supported were of bronze.

As the war with Antiochus and the Gauls, which this group of statues commemorated, came to an end about 228 B. C.,<sup>2</sup> these works of art were probably executed not long after this date.

Since Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 84) mentions two artists whose names end in *-ονος* among those who commemorated the victories of Attalus and Eumenes over the Gauls, when this inscription was discovered it was naturally assigned to the Isigonus or Antigonus of Pliny; but it is much more probable that this great work was entrusted to the artist whose signature has been found on several pedestals in Pergamum, rather than the art critic Antigonus or the otherwise unknown Isigonus.

Since Brunn's article in 1870 (*Ann. d. Inst.*, p. 292 sq.) it is generally admitted that there exist partial replicas of the two groups of statues set up by the kings of Pergamum in honor of their victory over the Gauls. The first group consists of dying or fighting

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-28; Loewy, I. G. B., 154 a-h.

<sup>2</sup> Fraenkel, *Philol.*, 1895, pp. 1-10.



Gauls, amazons, giants, and Persians from the groups dedicated on the Athenian acropolis.<sup>1</sup> They were found in Rome early in the sixteenth century. The second is a series of large statues which were grouped on the acropolis of Pergamum; to these belong the statue of a Gaul in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, called the Dying Gladiator, and the so-called Arria and Paetus of the Ludovisi Villa.

Ulrichs<sup>2</sup> suggested that the *tubicen* of Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 88, was a translation of *σαλπιστής* (= *σαλπιγκτής*). Michaelis<sup>3</sup> accepts this and identifies the Dying Gaul of the Capitol, who is represented as reclining with his trumpet under him, with the trumpeter of Epigonus; but Petersen<sup>4</sup> thinks the characteristics of the trumpeter in the statue are far too inconspicuous to make this identification tenable. Michaelis, however, considers the Dying Gaul and the group of the Ludovisi Villa more or less free copies of the bronze originals which Epigonus executed for the great triumphal monument of Attalus at Pergamum; to these he adds the infant caressing its slain mother, and he finds a mutilated copy of this group in the Dead Amazon of the Naples Museum. A sixteenth century drawing of this was found by him in the library at Basel. This shows that the statue had, at the date of its discovery in 1514, the figure of an infant clinging to its right breast. This group was changed, he thinks, by a sixteenth century restorer, who removed the child; indeed, he claims that traces of its attachment can still be seen on the right side of the statue. Petersen<sup>5</sup> disputes this also: he thinks the torso of the child found in the same excavations was

<sup>1</sup> Paus., I, 25, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Perg. Inschr., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1893, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Roem. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

later incorrectly joined to the Amazon. He claims that a careful examination of the statue with a magnifying glass has proved that all retouchings and alterations which can be referred to the torso of the child visible in the drawing of Basel absolutely forbid the supposition that there was original contact between the two figures, for the body of the child would be in an impossible position if it followed the so-called evidences of contact. If the results of Petersen's observations, as stated by him, are correct, they furnish a very strong argument against the theory of Michaelis. Ussing<sup>1</sup> takes the same view: he thinks the passage in Pliny may have been responsible for the infant, which was added later by a restorer. Sauer,<sup>2</sup> however, disagrees with this. He claims that the Amazon originally was not a single figure, and, moreover, that inextricable contradictions are involved in the hypothesis that the child, which was removed later, was joined to the Amazon by a modern hand. The view of Michaelis and Sauer is the one generally accepted by scholars, most of whom are willing to concede that the Dead Amazon at Naples is at least a free copy of the work of Epi-gonus, the motif of which the artist of the Athenian ex-voto applied to an amazon, as there was no place in his composition for a Gallic woman.<sup>3</sup>

If the originals of these groups were once grouped on the acropolis of Pergamum, they were probably arranged on a long base after the manner of a pediment. According to Reinach's restoration, in the center of the gable stood the suicide scene, the Ludovisi group, on the right the Dying Gaul of the Capitol, and on the left

<sup>1</sup> Pergamos, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1894, pp. 246-248.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon, Pergame, p. 131; Reinach, *Rev. Étud. Grec.*, 1894, pp. 37-44; cf. G. Habich, *Die Amazonengruppe des Attalischen Weihgeschencks* (dissert., Berlin, 1896), pp. 14-20.





the dead mother with her infant. To these Collignon thinks another figure may have been added. He considers the ancient torso of a restored statue in the Dresden Museum a second statue of a wounded Gaul, and also, very probably, the work of Epigonus; this statue, he says, may be assigned a place on the great pedestal where these figures were grouped by Epigonus, if the symmetry of the composition demanded a figure in the same attitude to correspond to the *Tubicen*.

Brunn<sup>1</sup> thought it very probable that the groups dedicated by Attalus at Athens were copies of similar groups on a larger scale set up at Pergamum. He believed that the existing specimens of these Athenian groups bear marks of being reduced copies of larger originals, and Michaelis<sup>2</sup> thinks that Epigonus took some part in the execution of the ex-voto at Athens; this view, however, is not generally accepted.

Michaelis proposes also to alter the Isigonus of Pliny, XXXIV, 84, to Epigonus. *Plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia, Isigonus, Phyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus qui volumina condidit de sua arte*. The change would be quite a simple one paleographically, as the corruption of ΕΠΙ to ΕΙΣΙ would be very easy; and much can be said in favor of the emendation, which is adopted by Reinach, Collignon, and others. It is a strange coincidence that the name which heads this list is the only one which is otherwise unknown and to which Pliny does not again refer, while the name of the artist Epigonus, whose signature has been found in Pergamum attached to bases which supported works of imposing proportions, is omitted; and it may be assumed with some degree of certainty that the artist Epigonus, whose position at

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1870, p. 314 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1893, pp. 132-133.

the court of Attalus was probably similar to that of Lysippus at the court of Alexander, headed the brief list of Pergamene artists in Pliny's enumeration.

#### ISIGONUS.

If Michaelis's emendation of Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 84, is accepted, the artist Isigonus owes his fictitious existence to the mistake of a scribe. Even if his name is retained in the passage of Pliny, the reasons for assigning numbers 22 and 29 of the *Alterthuemer* to Epigonus are sufficiently strong to counterbalance this single mention in Pliny, and Isigonus must be included with other Pergamene artists whose names only have survived.

#### ANTIGONUS.

Antigonus must have been born in the early part of the third century B. C., probably between 295 and 290, since there is evidence that he went to Athens about 270 B. C., and that he was then a man.<sup>1</sup> His native place was Carystus in Euboea.<sup>2</sup>

Antigonus was a man of great versatility and broad culture, an artist and art critic, a biographer and author of a book of marvels. His familiarity with Greek literature is shown by the authors cited in his works; and that his reputation as an art critic was established during his lifetime is proved by Polemon of Troas, the learned traveler and antiquary, who either dedicated a work to, or wrote a controversial work against him, entitled: *Πρὸς Ἀδαίον καὶ Ἀντίγονον*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert., IV, 22; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters.*, 1881, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert., II, 136; 143; IV, 17; VII, 12; IX, 62, etc.; Athen., X, 419 E; XII, 547 D; XIII, 563 E, etc.; Zenob., V, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Athen., XI, 484 B; 462 A; 210 A, etc.



He was probably a pupil of the philosopher Menedemus of Eretria,<sup>1</sup> and was something of a traveler. He visited Elis,<sup>2</sup> Delphi,<sup>3</sup> and Cos;<sup>4</sup> also Pitane in Aeolis, according to Wilamowitz.<sup>5</sup> He came to Athens—certainly before 270, for he found Polemon, Crantor, and Crates all three of them living there<sup>6</sup>—and probably stayed there for some time. At Pergamum we find him among the artists employed by the court.<sup>7</sup> Here or near here, in his old age probably, he wrote the biographies, of which large fragments are preserved in the works of Diogenes and Athenaeus.<sup>8</sup> His reputation as a writer was undoubtedly greater than as an artist.

His literary works included: (1) a book of marvels preserved in the Palatine manuscript 398, where it bears the title: *Ἀντιγόνου ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή*. It consists largely of extracts from the works of other writers; the “Auscultationes” attributed to Aristotle, and similar works of Callimachus, Timaeus, Ctesias, and others. Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.* Γύαρος) cites a passage from it. It was probably written about 240 B. C., as Antigonus repeats a remark which he heard Timon, the pupil of Aristocles, make.<sup>9</sup> This Aristocles was *ἐρώμενος* of King Antigonus about 290, according to Diogenes Laertius (VII, 13). It has been edited by Guil. Xylander (Basel, 1568), J. Meursius (Leyden, 1619 and 1622), J. Beckmann (Leipzig, 1791), Wester-

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert., II, 132; Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert., IX, 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀντιγόνου ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή*, ch. 141, ed. Beckmann.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 177 and note.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 187, note; Diog. Laert., IV, 38; Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laert., IV, 22.

<sup>7</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXIV, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–129; Koepke, *De Antigono Carystio* (dissert., Berlin, 1862), pp. 34–48.

<sup>9</sup> *Ἰστ. παρ.*, ch. 185.

mann (1839, in *De paradoxogr. graec.*, 61 sq.), and Keller (*Rer. Nat. Scr.*, I, p. 8 sq.).

(2) A work or works on art. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 84; *Antigonus, qui volumina condidit de sua arte.*

(a) On statuary. Pliny, indices to books XXXIII and XXXIV: *ex auctoribus . . . externis . . . Antigono qui de toreutice scripsit.* Cf. Diog. Laert., II, 15; Zenob., V, 82.

(b) On painting. Pliny, N. H., XXXV, 68; *Antigonus et Xenocrates qui de pictura scripsere.* Cf. Diog. Laert., VII, 188.

Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> thinks this book was not simply a history of painting, but also a statistical work on pictures.

(3) Biographies. Diog. Laert., IV, 17: *Φησὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς βίοις.* Cf. IX, 62; Athen., X, 419 E; IV, 162 E, etc.

The identity of Antigonus the biographer and Antigonus the artist and writer on art, which Susemihl,<sup>2</sup> Muenzer,<sup>3</sup> and Miss Sellers<sup>4</sup> accept as proved by Wilamowitz in his essay,<sup>5</sup> is questioned by Diels<sup>6</sup> and Voigt,<sup>7</sup> and disputed by Urlichs.<sup>8</sup>

Another work mentioned by Athenaeus (III, 88 A; VII, 297 E; 303 B) *Περὶ λέξεως*, cannot, with any degree of certainty, be ascribed to the Antigonus of Pergamum.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig, 1891), I, pp. 519 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Herm.*, 1895, p. 521.

<sup>4</sup> The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art (London, 1896), *Introd.*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-177.

<sup>6</sup> *Deut. Lit. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 604.

<sup>7</sup> *De Fontibus . . . Naturalis Historiae Pliniana* . . . (dissert., 1887), p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 174 sq.; Koepke, pp. 18-19.



The only reference to his work as an artist is the passage in Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 84), and his name has not been found in inscriptions. There can be no doubt that it was Antigonus the writer, rather than Antigonus the artist, who was invited to Pergamum by King Attalus, at whose court he must have been a distinguished figure.

#### STRATONICUS.

Stratonicus was a native of Cyzicus. Pliny, N. H., XXXIII, 156: *Stratonicus mox Cyzicenus*. His name has not been found in inscriptions, and the only guide to his date is the passage in Pliny quoted above.<sup>1</sup> He probably flourished in the second or latter part of the third century B. C.

According to Pliny he was both a bronze statuary and a silver-chaser. N. H., XXXIV, 85: *Praeterea sunt aequalitate celebrati artifices, sed nullis operum suorum praecipui . . . , item e caelatoribus Stratonicus*. Cf. N. H., XXXIII, 156; XXXIV, 84 and 90. His fame as a silver-chaser is established by Athenaeus (XI, 782 B), who mentions him among the ἐνδοξοὶ τορνευταί.

His works included: (1) Statues of philosophers. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 90: *Simon canem et sagittarium fecit, Stratonicus caelator ille philosophos Scopas uterque . . .* Whether another work of Stratonicus is referred to in this passage is uncertain. The reading *Scopas uterque* is a difficult one and has been variously interpreted: it is the unanimous reading of the manuscripts. Klein<sup>2</sup> assumes a lacuna after *uterque* and reads *Skopas*; Ulrichs<sup>3</sup> and Habich<sup>4</sup> suggest that *scopas*

<sup>1</sup> N. H., XXXIV, 84.

<sup>2</sup> \* *Arch. Ep. Mitth.*, IV, p. 22 sq.†

† References marked \* have been taken second-hand, as these works were not accessible to me.

<sup>3</sup> *Chrestomathia Pliniana* (Berlin, 1857), p. 331, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66, note 2; cf. Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, p. 187.

is the accusative plural of *σκῶψ* and refers to dancing satyrs, the work of both Simon and Stratoniceus. Habich supports his theory by appeal to a Munich vase, on which ΣΚΟΓΑ is inscribed above a satyr;<sup>1</sup> but Miss Sellers<sup>2</sup> thinks the fact that the next satyr bears the inscription ΤΒΠΙΣ shows that this is no generic term, but merely an epithet applied to one particular satyr. She regards *uterque* as a very ancient corruption which conceals the name of a work of art by Scopas. Gerhard<sup>3</sup> would read *copas*, and Preller<sup>4</sup> agrees with this. Ulrichs<sup>5</sup> suggests *scyphos*. It is impossible to say whether or not some sort of dancing figure or figures are to be ascribed to Stratoniceus, as these emendations suggest.

(2) Some work or works in honor of the victories of the kings of Pergamum over the Gauls, or some part in such work or works. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 84.

(3) Brunn<sup>6</sup> thinks the ivory bas-reliefs representing the death of the children of Niobe and the defeat of the Gauls before Delphi, which decorated the doors of the temple of the Palatine Apollo in the time of Augustus,<sup>7</sup> were, very probably, the work of Stratoniceus.

#### PHYROMACHUS AND NICERATUS.

With the artist Phyromachus and the problems connected with his name the Athenian artist Niceratus is

<sup>1</sup> \* Munich, Jahn Cat. 384 = *Mon. d. Inst.*, IV, pl. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 76, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Rh. Mus.*, IX (1853), p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Zeit.*, 1856, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Perg. Inschr.*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte der griechischen Kuenstler* (Stuttgart, 1857 and 1889), I, p. 444.

<sup>7</sup> *Propert.*, II, 31, 11 sq.; cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1891), I, p. 963.



so closely associated as to make it impossible to discuss the two separately. Their names have been found together in an inscription of Delos:

Νικήρατος Φυρόμα[χος Ἀθηνα]ῖοι ἐπόησαν  
(Loewy, I. G. B., 118)

and are probably to be supplied on the top slabs of a large pedestal found in Pergamum.<sup>1</sup> We have the direct testimony of Pliny (N. N., XXXIV, 84) that an artist Phyromachus was at work in Pergamum in the second or third century B. C., and there is documentary evidence for a Niceratus at work in Pergamum under Eumenes II in the epigram of a dedicatory offering which a certain Sosierates set up at Delos to commemorate the victory of Philetaerus, the brother of the king, over the Gauls:

ὦ μάκαρ ὦ Φιλέταιρε, σὺ καὶ θείοισιν . . .

. . . . .

ὧν ἔνεκεν τάδε σοι Νικηράτου ἔκκριτα ἔργα  
Σωσικράτης Δήλῳ θῆκεν ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ,

. . . . .

Homolle, *Mon. Grec.*, 1879, p. 46; Loewy, I. G. B., 147.

Homolle places the victory here referred to about 171 B. C.;<sup>2</sup> but Thraemer,<sup>3</sup> Collignon,<sup>4</sup> and Wolters<sup>5</sup> give 183 as a more probable date.

As there was also a Phyromachus who worked on the frieze of the Erechtheum in Athens in the XCIII Olympiad<sup>6</sup> and Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 51) mentions an artist of the same name of the CXXI Olympiad, there can be no doubt that there were at least two artists

<sup>1</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 132-134.

<sup>2</sup> Liv., XLII, 55, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pergamos, pp. 249-253.

<sup>4</sup> Pergame, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1890, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. G., 160.

who bore this name. Loewy makes the epigraphy of inscriptions 118 and 147 I. G. B. the basis of the assumption that there were also two artists of the name of Niceratus, one employed by Eumenes II of Pergamum in the second century B. C., and the other at work with the elder Phyromachus in Delos in the third century B. C.;<sup>1</sup> and, since two passages in Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 51 and 84) seem to prove the existence of two artists of the name of Phyromachus of the same two centuries, Loewy suggests, as a possible explanation, that both Phyromachus and Niceratus belonged to a family of artists in which the names were repeated. It is not impossible that the grandsons of the pair of artists who worked together at Delos should have borne the same names and also worked together in Pergamum, but, as Fraenkel remarks, the only reason for accepting this theory would be very strong arguments against the identity of the two pair of artists.

The two names are associated by Fraenkel in his restoration of two inscriptions found in Pergamum on the top slabs of a marble pedestal (Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 132-134). Fragments of three inscriptions were found, but No. 134 is too fragmentary for conjecture.

No. 132.

Νικήρατος] Εὐκτήμενος Ἀθ[ηνα]ῖος  
ἐποίησεν.

No. 133.

Φυρόμαχος (?) τοῦ δέινος Ἀ]θηναῖος  
[ἐποίησεν.

Fraenkel claims that after a comparison of Loewy's facsimile of the Delian inscription (I. G. B., 118) with the stone of No. 132 (Alt. v. Perg., VIII) he finds no strong epigraphical evidence against the identity of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thraemer, Pergamos, p. 248 sq.; Loewy, Untersuchungen zur griechischen Kuenstlergeschichte (Vienna, 1883), p. 20.



the artists mentioned in each. He says the difference, at all events, is much less than that between the Pergamene pedestal (Loewy, I. G. B., 496) and the Delian inscription (I. G. B., 147), which Loewy accepts as referring to the same Niceratus; and adds, "der subjective Schrifteindruck ist ein aeusserst truegerisches chronologisches Kriterion." Fraenkel thinks there is further proof of the common activity of a Niceratus and a Phyromachus in Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 80: *Phyromachi quadriga ab Alcibiade regitur*—and XXXIV, 88: *Nec minus Niceratus omnia quae ceteri adgressus repraesentavit Alcibiaden lampadumque accensu matrem eius Demaraten sacrificantem*. These, he thinks, clearly refer to companion pieces, undoubtedly reliefs, which represented the famous victory of Alcibiades in the Olympian chariot race and the thank-offering presented for it.

As the personality of Alcibiades would, undoubtedly, have been acceptable material for artistic treatment in the Hellenistic age, there is no reason for assigning these works of art to artists of an earlier period. The evidence at present in our possession seems to favor the assumption that there was one Niceratus, who worked at Delos and Pergamum, perhaps with Phyromachus in both places and certainly so at Delos, in the second century B. C.; and two artists, possibly three, of the name of Phyromachus, the younger of whom also worked at Delos and Pergamum and at the same time as Niceratus.

#### PHYROMACHUS.

Pyromachus is the spelling of this name in the best manuscripts of Pliny, but Phyromachus is the more usual form.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keil, *Analecta Epigraphica et Onomatologica*, p. 209.

The date of Phyromachus was probably the second century B. c., though there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars. Loewy<sup>1</sup> places the Phyromachus of Pliny, XXXIV, 84 in the second century B. c. He considers this passage of Pliny a supplementary one, since Pliny has stated there were no artists between Olympiads CXXI and CLVI, and Loewy thinks the works mentioned by Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 80, are to be assigned to the artist of the CXXI Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> whom he identifies with the artist of the Delian inscription.<sup>3</sup> Miss Sellers<sup>4</sup> thinks *cessavit deinde ars* (N. H., XXXIV, 52) marks the end, not of a period of art, but of Pliny's main Greek authority, and she calls attention to a similar break in the account of the painters.<sup>5</sup> Ulrichs<sup>6</sup> thinks the Phyromachus mentioned by Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 80, is the same as the one who worked on the frieze of the Erechtheum in Olympiad XCIII, 3. He thinks the clause, *Phyromachi quadriga ab Alcibiade regitur*, was a note added later on the margin. This group he places before 407 B. c. Pliny, XXXIV, 51 and 84, and XXXV, 146, he thinks refer to the Pergamene Phyromachus whose date is Olympiad CXXI. Overbeck<sup>7</sup> thinks the Phyromachus of Pliny, XXXIV, 80, might be the one who worked on the frieze of the Erechtheum, but not the one of Olympiad CXXI mentioned in Pliny, XXXIV, 51, nor the one who represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls.<sup>8</sup> He distinguishes three artists of this name.

<sup>1</sup> Unters. z. Kstlgesch., pp. 19-21.

<sup>2</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXIV, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> N. H., XXXV, 135.

<sup>6</sup> Chrest. Plin., p. 328.

<sup>7</sup> Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Kuenste bei den Griechen (Leipzig, 1868).

<sup>8</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXIV, 84.



Brunn<sup>1</sup> suggests that the statement of Pliny, XXXIV, 51, is probably a mistake in chronology; so, according to him, it is necessary to suppose that there were only two artists of this name, the Athenian one of the XCIII Olympiad and his possible descendant who worked for Eumenes in Pergamum.

There can be no doubt that the kings referred to in Pliny, XXXIV, 84, are Attalus I and Eumenes II.<sup>2</sup>

The native place of Phyromachus was probably Athens.<sup>3</sup> He must have been a skilful painter as well as sculptor, as Pliny (N. H., XXXV, 146) says Milon of Soli, an artist of repute, was a pupil of his.<sup>4</sup>

The works of Phyromachus included: (1) an image of Asclepius which Prusias later carried off from Pergamum. Polyb., XXXII, 25: Προυσίας μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τὸν Ἀτταλον καὶ τὸ παρελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ Πέργαμον παρασκευασάμενος θυσίαν πολυτελῇ προσήγαγε πρὸς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ . . . τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἄγαλμα βαστάσας, περιττῶς ὑπὸ Φυλομάχου (Φυρομάχου) κατεσκευασμένον ἀπήνεγκεν. . . . Cf. Suidas, s. v. Προυσίας.<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sicul., Exc. Lib. XXXI, 508: Ὅτι Προυσίας ὁ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεὺς ἀποτυχῶν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τέμενος τὸ καλούμενον Νικηφόριον διέφθειρε, καὶ τὸν νεὸν ἐλυμήνατο. Ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξόανα, καὶ τὸ περιβόητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, δοκοῦν ἔργον εἶναι Φυρομάχου, περιττῶς κατεσκευασμένον.

Pergamene coins have preserved the type, and to judge from these we may believe that the chryselephantine statue of Epidaurus, a work of Thrasymedes, in-

<sup>1</sup> Gesch. d. gr. Kuenst., I, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Conze, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1881, p. 869 sq.; *Ergebnis. d. Ausgrab. z. Perg.*, 1880, p. 83; Loewy, *I. G. B.*, p. 117 sq., and references same page.

<sup>3</sup> Loewy, *I. G. B.*, 118.

<sup>4</sup> According to Miss Sellar's reading (*op. cit.*, p. 170), Heraclides of Macedon also was a pupil of Phyromachus.

spired Phyromachus.<sup>1</sup> This statue was, no doubt, placed in the Asclepieum.

(2) A Priapus dedicated by Anaxagoras, to which an epigram of Apollonidas refers. Anthol. Gr., II, 698 (Planud., IV, 239).

Ἄνθετ' Ἀναξαγόρης με, τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ Πρίηπον,

ἐν χθονὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρῳ γούνατι κεκλιμένον.

Τεῦξε δὲ Φυλόμαχος (Φυρόμαχος). Χαρίτων δέ μοι ἀγχόθι καλὴν  
ἀθρήσας, δίδξεν μηκέτι πᾶς ἔπαισον.

Schoell<sup>2</sup> thinks Anaxagoras might be the well-known philosopher, who spent the last years of his life in Lampsacus, where Priapus was specially honored. If so, this votive offering, he thinks, would be the work of the Phyromachus who was employed on the frieze of the Erechtheum about Olympiad XCIII. Brunn says this is impossible, as Anaxagoras died Olympiad LXXXVIII, 1, twenty years earlier, when this artist would scarcely have been in a position to create such a work.

(3) A four-horse chariot driven by Alcibiades, Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 80, a companion piece to a work of Niceratus.<sup>3</sup>

(4) Two works in common with Niceratus, the pedestals for which have been found in Delos and at Pergamum. Loewy, I. G. B., 118, and Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 133.

<sup>1</sup> \* Brit. Mus. Cat. Gr. coins, Mysia, pl. XXV, 9; XXIX, 11; \* Wroth, Numismatic Chronicle, 1882, p. 15; \* Imhoof-Blumer, Die Muenzen der Dynastie von Pergamon (Berlin, 1884), pl. III, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Kuenst., I, p. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Fraenkel, Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 69.



## NICERATUS.

Niceratus was an artist of the second century B. C.<sup>1</sup> There is little reason to question this date, though other views have been held.<sup>2</sup> His native place was Athens, and his father's name was Euctemon. Tatian, *Orat. ad Graec.*, 53: . . . Νικηράτου τοῦ Εὐκτήμονος Ἀθηναίου . . .

Fraenkel thinks the Delian inscription<sup>3</sup> and the Pergamene one<sup>4</sup> prove that the inscription of a statue in Pergamum, given in Apian,<sup>5</sup> was composed on the basis of a genuine ancient inscription:

*Opus Nicerati.*

*Fertur autem imaginem fuisse Eumenestis regis.*

Loewy, I. G. B., 496.

Bursian<sup>6</sup> thought the inscription was not in its ancient form, but Apian's authority (probably Cyriac of Ancona) had added the drawing of the statue and pedestal, and that his sources were an ancient inscription, Νικήρατος ἐποίησεν, and oral tradition of the person represented, who, Bursian thought, might be Eumenes I. Loewy considers this improbable; he sees no reason for supposing that the name Eumenes came from any other source than an inscription, but says it is questionable whether any more of the memorial than this was extant.

Since there are good reasons for believing that there was only one artist of this name, the Eumenes of this inscription must have been Eumenes II.

<sup>1</sup> Homolle, *Mon. Grec.*, 1879, p. 46; Loewy, I. G. B., 147; Fraenkel, *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., p. 93; Overbeck, S. Q., p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 147; Homolle, *Mon. Grec.*, 1879, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, 132.

<sup>5</sup> Apianus et Amantius, *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis* (Ingolstadt, 1543), p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> *Sitzb. Bay. Akad.*, 1874, p. 152 sq.

The works of Niceratus included: (1) An Asclepius and Hygiea which Pliny says were in the Temple of Concord at Rome. N. H., XXXIV, 80: *Niceratus Aesculapium et Hygiam qui sunt in Concordiae templo Romae*. If this group was originally made for the Asclepieum at Pergamum, it was, presumably, transferred to Rome when the Romans inherited the Pergamene treasures by bequest of Attalus III, 133 B. C.

(2) Alcibiades and his mother Demarate sacrificing by torchlight. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 88: *Nec minus Niceratus omnia quae ceteri adgressus repraesentavit Alcibiaden lampadumque accensu matrem eius Damaraten sacrificantem*. The name of Alcibiades's mother was Δεινομάχη.<sup>1</sup> The name Demarate may have crept into Pliny's authority through an error in transcribing the inscription on the group.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Portraits of athletes, philosophers, etc. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 88.

(4) A statue of Telesilla. Tatian, Orat. ad Graec., 52: Τελεσίλλης . . . Νικήρατος (ἐστὶν ὁ δημιουργός). Brunn<sup>3</sup> thinks it probable that Telesilla was the heroine and celebrated lyric poetess of Argos, who flourished about 510 B. C. She led a band of her countrymen in the war with the Spartans and took part in their victory. Her statue was erected in the temple of Aphrodite at Argos, where Pausanias<sup>4</sup> saw her figure in relief.

(5) Glaucippe. Tatian, Orat. ad Graec., 53: Τί γὰρ ὑμῖν ἢ Γλαυκίππη σεμνὸν εἰσηγήσατο παιδίον; ἢ τί τεράστιον ἐγέννησε, καθὼς δείκνυσιν αὐτῆς ἢ εἰκὼν, Νικηράτου τοῦ Εὐκτήμονος Ἀθηναίου τὸ γένος χαλκεύσαντος; εἰ γὰρ ἐκύησεν ἐλέφαντα, τί τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ δημοσίας ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς τὴν Γλαυκίππην; It

<sup>1</sup> Plat., Alc., 105 d, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Sellers, *op. cit.*, Ulrich's note, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Gesch. d. gr. Kuenst., I, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> II, 20, 8; cf. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* (Oxford, 1834), II, p. 19.



has been conjectured<sup>1</sup> that this Glaucippe is the same as the Alcippe of Pliny, N. H., VII, 34, of whom the same marvel is related.

(6) A statue in Pergamum which Bursian<sup>2</sup> thought was a portrait statue, probably of Eumenes I, Loewy<sup>3</sup> of Eumenes II. Collignon's<sup>4</sup> conjecture that this figure was a Nike is more probable, as a similar representation of this goddess is seen engraved on a stone in the antiquarium of Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

Loewy thinks this work was executed in the last decade of the reign of Eumenes II; Bursian placed it in the second half of the third century B. C.

(7) An ex-voto at Delos dedicated by Sosicrates to celebrate a victory over the Gauls gained by Philetaerus, brother of Eumenes II. Loewy, I. G. B., 147; Homolle, *Mon. Grec.*, 1879, p. 46. Homolle thought this group was of bronze, but Wolters<sup>6</sup> thinks that Homolle has not sufficient reason for this assumption. The large pedestal and the *ἔκκριτα ἔργα* seem to prove that the ex-voto consisted of at least two figures; and one of these figures, a warrior in combat fallen on one knee and who is possibly a Gaul, may have been discovered in a statue excavated at Delos in 1882 and now in the museum at Athens.<sup>7</sup> The style of the work would assign it to the second century B. C.<sup>8</sup> (Reinach, however, who conjectured that the second figure was

<sup>1</sup> Kalkmann, *Rh. Mus.*, XLII (1887), p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzb. d. Bay. Akad.*, 1874, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> I. G. B., 496; *Unters. z. Kstlgesch.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Pergame, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> \* Furtwaengler, *Beschr. d. geschn. Steine im Antiquarium*, No. 2816, pl. 24; cf. \* Studniczka, *Die Siegesgottin*, p. 20, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1890.

<sup>7</sup> Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* (Paris, 1892-1897), II, fig. 264; Wolters, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1890, pp. 186-198.

<sup>8</sup> Reinach, *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.*, 1884, p. 180; Collignon, *H. S. Gr.*, II, p. 512.

on horseback,<sup>1</sup> thought there could be no doubt that this statue was the work of Agasias, son of Menophilus, whose name also was found in an inscription from the same place). This work was executed after 183 B. C., and perhaps later. Loewy<sup>2</sup> places it in the last decade of the reign of Eumenes II.

(8) Two unknown works whose pedestals have been found at Delos and in Pergamum, and which were executed in common with Phryomachus. Loewy, I. G. B., 118, and *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII<sup>1</sup>, 132.

#### THE ARTISTS WHO WORKED ON THE FRIEZE OF THE GREAT ALTAR.

The names of the artists who worked on the sculptured frieze of the great altar were cut on the base below the reliefs and lower than the names of the giants; where the base was lacking they were cut on the cornice. In the excavations at Pergamum one complete name and fragments of fifteen others have been found (*Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII<sup>1</sup>, 70-85), but most of these are so fragmentary as to be beyond restoration.

#### THEORRETUS.

The name Θεόρρητος was found on a complete block of the top cornice (*Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, 83). Schuchhardt says it is possible that No. 84 is a continuation of No. 83. If so, Theorretus would be a native of Pergamum, and the inscription would read:

Θεόρρητος [Περ]γα[μηνὸς ἐποίησεν.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.*, 1889, pp. 117 and 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Unters. z. Kstlgesch.*, p. 19.



## DIONYSIADES (?) AND MENEKRATES.

No. 70 is made by the combination of three pieces, two of which were found in fragments. The height of the lines and the spacing of the letters are the same in all three pieces, and the relative position of two of them is made certain by the mason's place-marks (*Versatzmarken*). As restored by Fraenkel, the inscription reads:

Δε[ο] νυσι[άδης τοῦ δέινος καὶ Μενεκρ]άτης [Με]νεκράτο[υς]  
ἐπόησαν.

As Fraenkel's combination of the fragments is based on a careful study of the inscriptions, the conjecture of Conze<sup>1</sup> need not be considered, and there is no reason for associating this Menecrates with the one mentioned by Pliny (*XXXVI*, 34) except as a possible member of the same family. Collignon<sup>2</sup> thinks it probable that Menecrates was an artist of Tralles.

## MELANIPPUS (?).

In No. 71 five pieces are combined by Fraenkel, as the height of the lines and the spacing of the letters are the same in all. A certain restoration is impossible, but he suggests:

Με]λα[νίππος Με]λασ[ι]ο[υ . . ]ος ἐπό[ησεν].

## ATHENAEUS.

In No. 74 three pieces are combined for the same reasons as those given under 70. Schuchhardt<sup>3</sup> says it is possible to combine these fragments in two different ways. One combination would give one artist subscription, and the other, two.

<sup>1</sup> *Goett. gelehrt. Anz.*, 1882, p. 904.

<sup>2</sup> *Pergame*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Alt. v. Perg.*, VIII, p. 58.

1. . . . σ . . . [Ἀθ]ηναίου [Πιτα? Ἀθη?] ναῖος ἐπόη[σεν.
2. . . . ναῖος ἐπόη[σεν . . . ] ηναίου.

In No. 2 the space between ἐπόη— and —ηναίου would have contained, not only the —σεν ending of the verb, but also the artist's name and the first letters of his father's. In this case the σ of No. 1 would have been part of another inscription.

Ulrichs<sup>1</sup> thinks this artist is the son of an Athenaeus, who, he says, may possibly be the Athenaeus of the disputed passage in Pliny—N. H., XXXIV, 52: *Cessavit deinde ars, ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit, cum fuere longe quidem infra praedictos, probati tamen, Antaeus, Callistratus, Polycles, Athenaeus, Callixenus, etc.*—and he includes this same Athenaeus among the artists employed in Pergamum during the reign of Attalus I. But, since Conze<sup>2</sup> places the building of the great altar at Pergamum in the time of Eumenes II (197–159 B. C.), it is chronologically impossible to take the artist referred to in this inscription as the son of an Athenaeus of the CLVI Olympiad, even if an artist of this name is to be assumed from this passage in Pliny.

#### ORESTES.

Inscription No. 75 is made by the combination of two pieces on which the spacing of the letters and the height of the lines are the same. The inscription, as restored by Fraenkel, reads:

Ὁ ρέστης Ὀρ[έ]στο[υ Περγ]αμ[ηνὸς ἐπόησεν.

Eleven of the sixteen inscriptions (Nos. 72, 73, 76–82, 84, 85) are too fragmentary to admit of any attempt at restoration, but it has been conjectured that the η

<sup>1</sup> Perg. Inscr., p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Monatsb. d. Berl. Akad., 1881, p. 869; cf. Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 54.



of No. 72 formed part of the word *Περγαμηνός*; so of the five, or possibly six, artists whose names have been recovered, three were, very probably, natives of Pergamum.

Nothing further is known of these artists or their work, but the fact that they formed part of the group entrusted by Eumenes II with the great artistic undertaking of his reign assures them a place among the most celebrated artists of the second century B. C.

#### HERMOCREON.

The native place of Hermocreon is unknown, but the combined testimony of Livy and Strabo furnish evidence for including him among the artists of the second century B. C. who were employed by Eumenes II of Pergamum.

The victory over Antiochus in 190 B. C. greatly extended the dominions of the king of Pergamum and gave to Eumenes the provinces of Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, etc.<sup>1</sup> It was, no doubt, Eumenes II who, after he came into possession of this territory, caused a great altar to be erected at Parium on the Propontis, and the artist selected by him for this work was Hermocreon. Strabo, X, 487: *ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἐκτίσθη Θάσος καὶ Πάριον ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι πόλις· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν ὁ βωμὸς λέγεται θέας ἄξιος, σταδιαίας ἔχων τὰς πλευράς.* XIII, 588: *Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις μεταξὺ Πριάπου καὶ Παρίου ἔχουσα ὑποκείμενον πεδίου ὁμώνυμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκταίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος κατὰ τὴν \*\* Πυκάτην· εἰς δὲ Πάριον μετηνέχθη πᾶσα ἡ κατασκευὴ καὶ λιθεῖα κατασπασθέντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ὠκοδομήθη ἐν τῷ Παρίῳ βωμός, Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἔργον, πολλῆς μνήμης ἄξιον κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος.*

This is the only work of Hermocreon mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> Liv., XXXVIII, 39, 14-17.

literature, and his name has not appeared in inscriptions found in or near Pergamum.

MENOPHANES (?) OR MENOPHANTUS (?).

A fragmentary inscription found on a block of marble in Pergamum, as restored in the *Alterthuemer*, reads:

.....  
 'Ο δέϊνα] Μηνοφ[άνου or άντου  
 Περγα] μνηὸς ἐπό[ησεν.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 221.

Both the names suggested by Fraenkel are found in Pergamum: Menophanes on a coin of Caligula,<sup>1</sup> and Menophantus in inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> There was an artist Menophantus in the time of the Roman empire, whose name is found on a statue of Aphrodite now in the Chigi Palace at Rome.<sup>3</sup> The artist of the Pergamene inscription, who belongs to the time of the kings, is otherwise unknown.

DIOSCURIDES.

A fragmentary inscription from Pergamum (\*Lebas-Waddington, III, 1723<sup>e</sup>) probably contains the name Dioscurides. The transcriptions of Loewy and Fraenkel disagree as to the existing letters:

[Διοσκ] ουρίδης  
 [ἐποίη]σεν.

I. G. B., 284.

Διοσκ[ουρίδης  
 ἐποίη]σεν.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 514.

<sup>1</sup> \* Mionnet, II, p. 596, No. 550.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. G., 3554; Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 171 sq.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. G., 6165; Loewy, I. G. B., 377.



There was a later artist of this name who was a gem-cutter in the time of Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and there was also a Dioscurides of Samos, who is known through two mosaics found in Pompeii.<sup>2</sup> The Pergamene artist is otherwise unknown.

Five more inscriptions which contained the names of artists have been recovered in too fragmentary a condition to admit of any attempt at restoration. Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>1</sup>, 3, 143, 145, 146, 197. One, at least, was a native of Pergamum (No. 143).

### ATTALUS III.

The work of Attalus III, king of Pergamum, would probably not entitle him to a place among the artists of that city; his only claim to such a position is a passage in Justin, where it is said that he worked in wax and bronze, and of the latter material, probably, began the construction of a tomb for his mother. Justin, XXXVI, 4, 4-5: *Ab hoc studio aerariae artis fabricae se tradit, cerisque fingendis et aere fundendo procudendoque oblectabatur. Matri deinde sepulchrum facere instituit . . .*

Several artists, for various reasons, have been included among those of Pergamum, although there is no direct testimony in literature or inscriptions which connects their names with that country. The suggestion of Collignon<sup>3</sup> that Athenion, whose name has been found on cameos of the second century B. C., is to be included among Pergamene artists, is quite plausible, as his work is closely related in style to that of the sculptors contemporaneous with Eumenes II. Collignon thinks it is probable that Boethus of Chalceldon also worked at Pergamum, and Urlichs<sup>4</sup> includes among the

<sup>1</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXVII, 8; Suet., Aug., 50.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. G., 5866 B.

<sup>3</sup> Pergame, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Perg. Inschr., p. 31.

artists of this country Callistratus mentioned by Pliny (N. H., XXXIV, 52) as an artist of Olympiad CLVI.

### SOSUS.

The date of Sosus is uncertain: he may have been one of the artists of the third century B. C. According to Pliny (N. H., XXXVI, 184) he was the most famous artist in mosaic of antiquity, and he is the only one whose name is recorded in literature. Whether he belonged to Pergamum, or was one of the many artists from other countries who worked at the court of the Attalids, is uncertain: the phraseology of Pliny might imply the latter.

The only works of Sosus mentioned by Pliny are the famous floors in Pergamum. N. H., XXXVI, 184: *Celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere Sosus qui Pergamistravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta cenae in pavimentis quaeque everri solent velut relictæ fecerat parvis e tessellis tinctisque in varios colores. Mirabilis ibi columba bibens et aquam umbra capitis infuscans apricantur aliae scabentes sese in canthari labro.* The popularity of this work is proved by existing imitations as well as references in Roman writers.<sup>1</sup> Of existing imitations the best known, called the Capitoline Doves, was found in 1737 in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli.<sup>2</sup> Several mosaics of the unswept floor type also have been found.<sup>3</sup>

It is possible that Sosus may have been one of the artists who made the mosaics for the magnificent ship of Hiero II of Syracuse, about 232 B. C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stat. Silv., I, 3, 56; Apollinar. Sidon., Carm., XXIII, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom (Leipzig, 1891 and 1899), 450.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 694; Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Kuenst., II, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Athen., V, 206 D.



## HEPHAESTION.

The name of one other artist in mosaic has been discovered in Pergamum: one of the fragments of a mosaic floor<sup>1</sup> found in the ruins of what was probably the royal palace bears his signature:

Ἡφαιστίων  
ἐποίει.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII, 46<sup>a</sup>, p. 504.

These fragments, according to Ussing,<sup>2</sup> are far superior to the best Pompeian mosaics.

An Hephaestion of Athens, son of Myron, an artist of the first century B. C., is known from four inscriptions found in Delos.<sup>3</sup>

Among the literary records of painters and paintings in Pergamum only three, at most, refer to contemporary artists. One of these is a painting at Pergamum mentioned by Pausanias (X, 25, 10), which depicted the slaying of Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles. As Pausanias is speaking of a series of connected paintings, he very probably refers to fresco-paintings on the wall of some public building.

## MILON (?).

The second reference also is found in Pausanias. I, 4, 6: Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν ἔστι δὲ γραφή τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἔχουσα. This battle with the Gauls Urlichs<sup>4</sup> has conjectured was the work of Milon of Soli, the pupil of Phyromachus the statuary.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. V<sup>1</sup> of the Alterthümer, which contains an account of these mosaics, has not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> Pergamos, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. G., 2284, 2293; Loewy, I. G. B., 252-255.

<sup>4</sup> Perg. Inschr., p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Plin., N. H., XXXV, 146.

## PYTHEAS.

Pytheas was probably an artist of the second century B. C.; his native place was Bura in Achaea.<sup>1</sup>

There was an elephant in Pergamum, which was the work of Pytheas, who seems to have excelled in mural paintings. Steph. Byz.: Βούρα, πόλις Ἀχαιῶν . . . ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Πυθείας ζωγράφος, οὗ ἔστιν ἔργον ὁ ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐλέφας, ἀπὸ τοιχογραφίας ὧν ὡς Φίλων.

In the third century B. C. Antiochus, who had won a complete victory over the Tectosages in Phrygia through the havoc made by his sixteen elephants, commanded that nothing but the figure of an elephant should be inscribed on the trophy.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the elephants of the Greek princes played as important a part in the wars with the Gauls which followed, and there can be little doubt that this elephant of Pytheas was connected with the victories of Attalus and Eumenes: it may have been assigned a place on the acropolis with the other monuments erected in honor of the victories of these kings.<sup>3</sup>

The names of several artists have been found in inscriptions of Pergamum, which must be assigned to the period of Roman supremacy.

## MENOPHILUS.

A Pergamene artist of this name is known from only one inscription:

Ὁ δὴ[μ]ος [ἐτίμησεν]  
 Λεύκιον Ἀντώ[ν]ιον Μ[αάρκου υἱόν, ἀντι-]  
 ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτη[γον τὸν πάτρω-]

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz., s. v. βούρα.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, Zeux., 11.

<sup>3</sup> S. Reinach and E. Pottier, *La Necropole de Myrina* (Paris, 1888), pp. 168-169, 322-323.



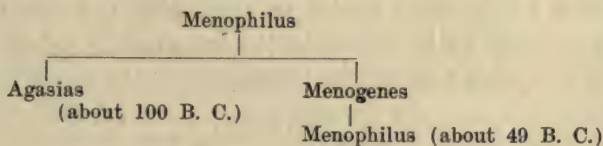
να καὶ σωτήρα, δικαιοδοτ[οῦντα κατὰ τὴν]  
ἐπαρχείαν καθαρῶς καὶ δ[ημιοτικῶς καὶ]  
ὁσίως.

Μηνόφιλος Μηνογένου ἐπόει.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>2</sup>, 410; cf. Loewy, I. G. B., 283.

As Lucius Antonius, the brother of the triumvir Marcus Antonius, was quaestor in Asia in 50 B. C. and proquaestor with praetorian rank in 49 B. C.,<sup>1</sup> Menophilus was an artist of the first century B. C. His native place is unknown.

Lolling<sup>2</sup> is inclined to think that the Menogenes of Pliny, XXXIV, 88, is the father of this artist; he thinks it probable also that this Menophilus is a kinsman of the Agasias of Ephesus, son of Menophilus, whose name is found in an inscription of Delos and whose date is probably 100 B. C.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of this conjecture he gives the following family tree:



But there are four inscriptions from Delos containing the name of this Agasias, son of Menophilus;<sup>4</sup> one that of Menophilus, son of Agasias,<sup>5</sup> also from Ephesus; and one also that of an Agasias, son of Dositheus, of Ephesus.<sup>6</sup> Loewy<sup>7</sup> gives the following family tree, in which he does not include the artist of Pergamum:

<sup>1</sup> \* Waddington, *Fast. Prov. Asiat.*, Nos. 33 and 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ergebnis. d. Ausgrab. z. Perg.*, 1880, p. 110.

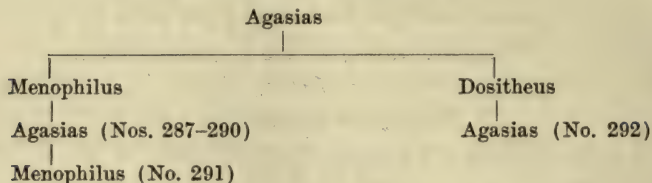
<sup>3</sup> C. I. G., 2285 B.

<sup>4</sup> Loewy, I. G. B., 287-290.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.



Since the home of the Pergamene Menophilus is not mentioned, there is too little on which to base such a conjecture as that of Lolling.

#### DIODORUS.

The name of this artist has been found in an inscription on a marble pedestal at Karaman-Mesar:

*ἐποίει Διόδωρος.*

*Mitth. Arch. Inst.*, 1899, p. 224.

A Diodorus who painted a portrait of Menodotus is ridiculed in the Greek Anthology (Palat., XI, 213).<sup>1</sup> The Pergamene artist is otherwise unknown, and the only clue to his date is the epigraphy of the inscription, which places him in the time of the Roman Empire, perhaps as late as the early part of the second century A. D.

#### GLYCON.

An inscription on a marble base found in Pergamum contains this name:

Ὁ [δῆμος ἐτίμησε  
Γερ]μανικὸν [καίσαρα Τιβερίου Σεραστοῦ υἱόν  
τὸν ε]ὐε[ρ]γ[έτην καὶ σωτήρα τῆς πατρίδος.]  
Γλύκω[ν . . . ἐποίη].

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>2</sup>, 391.

The *terminus post quem* for this stone is 18 A. D. Germanicus, who was put in charge of affairs in the

<sup>1</sup> = Meineke, Leonidae Alexandrini Carmina, V.



east in that year,<sup>1</sup> traveled along the coast from Ilium to Colophon<sup>2</sup> and probably stopped in Pergamum: he died in Syria the following year.<sup>3</sup> This inscription, no doubt, belonged to one of the statues erected in his honor which are mentioned by Tacitus.<sup>4</sup>

The Athenian artist of the first century B. C. who executed the famous Farnese Heracles, now in Naples, was a Glycon. It is, of course, possible that the later artist may have been a member of the same family, but identity of name does not of necessity lead to any such conclusion.

#### NICODEMUS OR NICON.

One more name must be added to this list, for, though he who bore it cannot be included among the artists of Pergamum in the strict sense of that term, he was too famous in his particular line to be passed over without comment. An architect, I. Nicodemus, also called Nicon the Younger, restored and decorated, at his own expense, a colonnade of the agora in Pergamum:

Ἀρχιτέκτων  
 θίοις ἀπὲς τεχνεῖταις ἱεροῖς  
 Ἰ. Νεικόδημος ἀγαθός, ἅμα δὲ ὁ καὶ  
 Νείκων νέος,  
 ἡσφαλίσατο καὶ κόσμησε ἅπασιν  
 ἀγορανόμιον περίπατον ἰδίῃ φιλοτειμίῃ.  
 ἐν βίῳ δὲ καλὸν ἔργον ἐν μόνον εὐποιῶα.

C. I. G., 3545; Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>2</sup>, 333.

And a Nicon of Pergamum, probably the same, drew up a mathematical composition:

<sup>1</sup> Tac., Ann., II, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

*Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 83; Fraenkel, Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 279.

.....  
 'Επ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖς τεχνίταις  
 τὴν διατριβὴν ἐποίησε Νείκων  
 ἐνπεύροις αὖ τῆς μνήμης χάριν.  
 .....

C. I. G., 3546.

The architect of this restored building Doerpfeld<sup>1</sup> places in the second century A. D. Nicon, the father of Galen, lived in the first half of the second century A. D.; he was a geometrician and an architect, and came from Pergamum. Suidas, Γαληνός . . . Περγαμηνός, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ Μάρκου καὶ Κομόδου καὶ Περτίνακος τῶν Καισάρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, υἱὸς Νίκωνος γεωμέτρου καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος . . . Galen, Περὶ εὐχυμ. καὶ κακοχυμ., I (VI, p. 755, Kuehn): Ἐμοὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐγένετο γεωμετρίας μὲν καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονίας καὶ λογιστικῆς ἀριθμητικῆς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίας εἰς ἄκρον ἥκων.<sup>2</sup> It is very probable that Nicon the father of Galen and Nicodemus the architect are one and the same person.<sup>3</sup>

There has also been found in Pergamum an inscription on a stone raised in his honor after his death or placed over his tomb:

'Ι. Νικόδημος ὁ καὶ Νίκων  
 ἀγαθὸς εἶεν αἰ ἥρως.

Alt. v. Perg., VIII<sup>2</sup>, 587.

Since inscriptions found in Pergamum prove that artists of many nationalities worked there, the existence of a Pergamene school of art has been questioned and even rejected.<sup>4</sup> It must be admitted that, in the true sense, a school of art cannot be created by the lav-

<sup>1</sup> *Mith. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1902, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, XII, 9 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Alt. v. Perg., VIII, p. 372; \*H. Schoene, *Schedae philologiae Hermanno Usenero . . . oblatae* (Bonn, 1891), p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Urlichs, *Perg. Inschr.*, p. 27; Conze, *Goett. gelehrt. Anz.*, 1882, p. 911 sq.



ish patronage of princes, cannot, save in the most elementary degree, be formed by a gathering of painters and sculptors, as the world has slowly recognized in the decadence of Italian art in the past two centuries. There was no Pergamene school in the sense of "a body of native sculptors showing in their work the impress of local character and influence," but, since "a certain spirit and style appear throughout the mass of sculpture discovered on the site of Pergamum, which no earlier work of sculpture displays so conspicuously or so consistently," a Pergamene style or epoch may be maintained.<sup>1</sup> This was probably part of a great Graeco-Asiatic school, of which Pergamum, in the second century B. C., was the most brilliant and active center. These post-Alexandrian sculptors and painters, Greeks though they were, were influenced by the great East which they had conquered; but it was against this East, which was slowly but steadily engulfing them, that their works were a protest in grace and in beauty. For inspiration they turned to Athens, the ancient seat of Hellenic glory, though her surroundings, beliefs, and associations were fading away.

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XI, p. 181 sq.









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